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Europe and US Politics

New Republic

EFFECTS OF THE ELECTION

ON THE PRESIDENT . . . . . *"No Place to Hide"*

ON CONGRESS . . . . *Shifts in Committee Control*

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Ernest Hemingway and the Literary Critics

BY MARK SCHORER

Significant Sears and Remarkable Roebuck

BY RIDGELY CUMMINGS

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T. R. B.

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Washington Wire

America now enters a period in which, for two years, nobody in Washington will have responsibility, and in which each party will blame the other. It is the most startling peculiarity of our government. In effect the Constitution imposes compulsory coalition on warring parties. This might be acceptable under the unifying effect of national emergency, but there is no national emergency today save the existence of the coalition itself. We have always thought and continue to think it a silly system.

The new duel starts slowly, for this is the cautious period. This is the time for unctious phrases about "co-operation" and "harmony." But the honeymoon is a motel affair. Party leaders wear set smiles, and have knives up their sleeves.

Democrats have come some way at mid-term, especially at the grass roots and local level, and in the capture of governorships. But for their hopes of 1956 the election demonstrated once more that their chief problem is Eisenhower. Ike's party has lost Congress, but Ike isn't repudiated. We can't prove it statistically, but we believe it was Ike who stopped the Democratic landslide. He is and remains the great father image of America. We have little doubt the GOP will insist on his renomination in 1956, and very likely he will be re-elected. The GOP has the money; it has the press, radio and TV; and it has Ike. This is a formidable combination. Experience shows its power in the rolling drumfire of the last two weeks of the campaign. And for the good of his party, experience shows Ike is willing to compromise his Great Crusade: whether with Joe McCarthy in 1952, or his Vice President, Nixon, in 1954.

Another post-election thought is the low evolutionary stage of our political parties, manifested by hacks and non-entities put in nomination. Public life in America is undermined by the absence of disciplined, coherent, intelligent parties. How could the Republicans in 1954 put up a man like Joe Meek in Illinois to run against the outstanding member of the Senate, Paul Douglas? It is like the Democrats pulling up "Jumping Joe" Ferguson in Ohio against Taft four years earlier. The American public vindicated itself in each case, not on a basis of conservative *vs.* liberal, but in showing its hearty preference for a man of brains and character if given a choice. Douglas' majority was the biggest in any Senate contest this year.

McCarthy has got where he has by audacity. Another man might trim sail at the censure debate; McCarthy's battle plan (laid weeks ago) almost seems designed to alienate any friend he has left in the upper chamber. First he attempts to discount the chastisement by accepting it in advance. Then he plans a counter-attack that will, in effect, lash most of the Senate. For a desperate man boldness is the thing. McCarthy snatched no good from the election; friends lost, enemies won, and Nixon developed a rival new-style package of iodized McCarthyism. Joe didn't even have the chance which a loss of Ike's personal prestige would have given him: as the ballots turned out it is hard for him to say "I told you so." And the Democrats saved the GOP the embarrassment of reappointing Joe as chairman of his committee. The underlying struggle in the Senate censure debate is between the two GOP wings. Taft Republicans have always dominated the party in Congress. Most of McCarthy's support will come from the Old Guard. It won't save him, but it will underline the question of party strategy: Should Ike's middle-road course be followed, or the McCarthy-Nixon line of trying to attaint Democrats of treason?

We keep coming back to the point that the Dixon-Yates contract is one of the most doctrinaire proposals ever advanced in Washington. The funny thing is that liberals are usually accused of being doctrinaire. But this crackpot scheme was dreamed up by businessmen, including Ike's first budget director, the simple-hearted Detroit banker Joseph Dodge, who resigned when saner heads wouldn't let him balance the budget in a recession. There is no secret about the ideology of the thing: TVA represented public power (or "creeping socialism," in Ike's memorable phrase) and Dixon-Yates was invoked as a "prime example of the way the system of private enterprise works." The point is, of course, that Dixon-Yates is not private enterprise at all. As Sen. Albert Gore (D, Tenn.) says, "it reeks of government subsidy and guaranteed profits." There is about as much "free enterprise" in this as there is to a high tariff on wool!

On foreign affairs we should like to quote from the *London Observer*. On October 24 it praised Sir Anthony Eden when he became a knight. "But the recent gratifying increase in British prestige," observed *The Observer*, "should not blind us to the fact that the leading role was thrust upon this country by the temporary paralysis of an American Administration which had become too rigidly committed to an outdated policy. . . . Nobody will be happier than he if the government of the foremost Western Power recovers sufficient freedom of movement to shoulder the full burden of its responsibility."

The US Information Agency which tries to counter Soviet propaganda in the global Cold War is so demoralized that it can't fill jobs. McCarthy called the "Voice" a "nest of Communists"; Congress cut its staff from 13,500 to 9,500 and now its unfortunate chief can't keep the reduced number filled. Security clearance takes three months; or six months and longer if the suspect (we mean job candidate) worked abroad. Look at what happened to career diplomat John Paton Davies. He is found guilty of no crime, but after 23 years he is dismissed with loss of the pension rights to which he would have been entitled in four more years. He was acquitted on eight investigations, but the ninth got him. His fault? Fundamentally that he warned against Chiang's weakness, just as did three other foreign service men—all dropped.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Farm Vote

ON THE DAY after the nation went to the polls, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson claimed that "American farmers generally have supported . . . this Administration's . . . farm program." Certainly, election results and dispatches indicate that in general the "farm issue" was not the dynamite Democrats expected it to be. But a careful look indicates that Benson's eagerness to claim approval was premature—he, and the Administration, are still in trouble with a lot of farmers.

Prices for some farm products, although still below their pre-Republican level, have steadied during the past year; but dairy and poultry prices are still way down. In Pennsylvania, where there are a lot of both dairy and poultry farmers, Democrats won big victories in all the state-wide contests, largely because the normally Republican rural counties switched. Averell Harriman, who became New York's first Democratic governor in a long time by a very narrow margin, picked up some of those extra votes in seven wholly dairy counties. In Wisconsin, Democrat William Proxmire cut his margin of loss to Gov. Walter J. Kohler from 400,000 two years ago to 40,000 with the help of protesting farmers. In Minnesota, increasingly a dairy and poultry state, Orville L. Freeman used the farm issue to become the state's first Democratic Governor in 16 years. Although the prosperous farmers around Chicago voted Republican, the hard-hit downstate farmers switched to Sen. Paul Douglas who hit the farm issue hard. Joseph C. O'Mahoney's Senate victory in Wyoming, Patrick V. McNamara's defeat of Sen. Homer Ferguson in Michigan and the Democrats' gain of two rural House seats in Missouri all are partly attributable to farm discontent.

Significantly, the Republican lines held best among farmers financially secure enough to subordinate their fear of falling prices to others; with these, the "peace issue" which President Eisenhower raised late in the campaign had a considerable influence. So what the farmers really did this year was to serve notice on the Administration that when Benson hurt them, they would hit back —a lesson for 1956.

Off to a Fast Start

TWO DAYS after the November 2 elections the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy was called together in the old Supreme Court room in the capitol where the marble heads of 10 Chief Justices frown down from the green walls. The Administration had summoned the committee back to waive a provision requiring the Dixon-Yates contract to be before the Congress for 30 days. But, while Democrats pressed them with new vigor and Republicans sat silent and discomfited, the spokesmen of the Eisenhower Administration declined to explain their reasons.

First, Admiral Strauss read his prepared statement, a self-serving declaration that contained not one sentence explaining why waiver was vital. Sen. Clinton Anderson (D, N. M.), the prospective Chairman of the Committee after January, called on him to expand his remarks. Admiral Strauss refused, insisting that the General Manager of the AEC, General K. D. Nichols, would undertake this chore. Anderson reminded him that under law the Chairman was designated the spokesman for the AEC before Congress. Admiral Strauss blinked but said nothing. He was followed by Bureau of the Budget Director Rowland Hughes, a former Vice President of the National City Bank, who proved to be as inept a witness as reporters could remember. He knew so little about the major provisions of the Dixon-Yates contract he had approved that, with some justification, Senator Anderson finally asked him if he had ever read it. The Committee members were given the contract ten days before the hearings on waiver began. But Senator Anderson and other Democrats were able to raise basic questions about its terms, risks and guarantees that neither Nichols, Strauss, Hughes nor the experts who whispered in their ears were able to clear up.

Rep. Chet Holifield (D, Cal.) pointed out that the legality of the contract apparently rested on the reduction of the AEC's power demand—a reduction that was fictional as far as a plant, 200 miles from any AEC installation, was concerned. Sen. Albert Gore (D, Tenn.), in the course of brilliant testimony, showed that the Act violated the letter if not the spirit of his own amendment, passed by Congress forbidding the government to reimburse a private corporation for its income taxes. He argued, and Anderson agreed, that the provisions of the Dixon-Yates contract would work a plain injustice on all other corporations now under contract with the government. "An improvident, one-sided contract," said Gore, and he added, "The sponsors of this deal misused the most respected man and the most respected agency in the United States." If party ranks hold, the lame duck Republican majority can force the contract through.

Next Week

The NEW REPUBLIC'S
Fortieth Anniversary Issue

128 pages of many of the best and most representative articles, stories, and poems published by this Journal of Opinion during the past 40 years; also, five provocative essays written especially for this issue;

And an editorial introduction by
Adlai E. Stevenson

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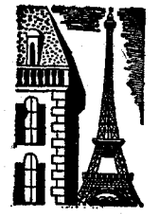
Paris Dispatch A Sigh of Relief from Europe

Most people in Western Europe were told by their press and pundits during the American campaign that US foreign policy wasn't an issue. In fact, however, practically everyone assumed that this meant merely that such policy wasn't an obvious, a major, a finally determining issue. For it is entirely inconceivable to Western Europeans that anything important can happen, politically, within the US without affecting the role and conduct of the leading power in the alliance of the free nations.



For Western Europeans, therefore, the results of the election were taken as foreshadowing the final withering away of "the crusade" as an instrument of politics, either foreign or domestic, either within the US or in any other country of the free world, and, indeed, even within the Soviet Union or the Soviet world. Politically, this process is believed to have begun when Georgi Malenkov took over Marshall Stalin's power and made it more realistically mundane than mystical; and to have reached its climax when Pierre Mendès-France, by daring to put an end to the war in Indo-China, made his own brand of realism the prototype for continental European statesmanship. If the pleas and the prayers of the only self-proclaimed crusader in high office (the highest, as a matter of fact) in the Western world couldn't make the GOP crusade for votes effective in his own country, what chance is there left for liberationism abroad.

In general, the results of the elections are interpreted—insofar as US foreign policy is concerned—as another confirmation of a world-wide trend away from preoccupation with foreign affairs to concern with domestic matters; away from extreme solutions for world problems to moderate and reasonable ones; away from absolutes to relatives; away from permanencies to provisionals; and, above all, away from the exceptionalism of military crusading and psychological warfare to the normal processes of diplomatic negotiation and of economic competition.

Most Western Europeans showed little interest in the election campaign until its final weeks. The American campaign began to be really interesting here when Vice President Nixon and other leaders of the GOP right-wing started calling the Democrats warmongers and hinting that they really were crypto-Communists. It became even more interesting when Eisenhower intervened personally in the electioneering as a knight in shining armor of peace. For despite the contradictions within the GOP leadership—to which Europeans are painfully accustomed—the President was given the more attentive—and more convinced—attention. And his preachments seemed to suggest that, swinging to the opposite of the doctrine of massive retaliation, he was giving support to some kind of practical normalization of the relations between the free and the Soviet worlds.

Nothing could have been more welcome to Western Europeans, especially to those who believed that WEU can be made the start for some sort of provisional *modus vivendi* with the Soviet world. Then it was considered significant that Adenauer chose a platform in Washington to launch (or re-launch) the idea of negotiations from strength for a West-East non-aggression pact. Obviously, there was a good reason in West German domestic politics for what he did; even he, the second-string crusader of the Western world, has to recognize the current in his country which, now that a firm pact with the West has been made, wants a balancing arrangement with the East.

The State Department professed to be cool to Adenauer's idea. Yet the impression was given that Washington wouldn't oppose a Big Four conference with the Soviets after the ratification of the WEU agreements, and after the British Commonwealth conference early next year. It was also noticed, particularly in France, that Adenauer didn't bring home from Washington anything like the prizes he had expected to get, of which the most ambitious was to have been a tighter military co-operation. And this was taken as meaning that perhaps Washington would now refrain from playing favorites in Western Europe, would deal with WEU as a whole, or at least would wait to hear what Mendès-France has to say in Washington before going ahead with treating Adenauer as its chosen instrument.

When the final election results were known, there was a general belief—or at least, a hope—that the new, and precarious, balance of domestic political forces would have a salutary effect on foreign policy.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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Effects of the Election

The Democrats: Looking Toward '56

AFTER ANALYZING the November 2 returns, the facts Democratic strategists consider most significant are:

1. Democrats running for Congress registered an estimated gain of three to four percent of the popular vote over 1952, despite the full force of the President's efforts to elect Republicans. The "usual" minority party gain in recent off-years has been six to seven percent. Preliminary reports on gubernatorial and state legislative contests, however, indicate Democrats ran considerably stronger in the state races not touched by Eisenhower's plea for a national Republican Congress

2. The already close margin between the parties narrowed even further in most two-party areas.

3. Where strong candidates were opposed by weak ones, the higher caliber men usually won, regardless of party.

4. Unemployment and farm prices were potent, if not sweeping, popular issues. (See pages 10-13.)

Given these conclusions, it seems logical to assume:

1. Races in the most heavily populated areas of the country will continue to grow harder fought and closer.

2. Less-than-the-best candidates will not be good enough to win.

3. The record of the two parties on proposed solutions for the twin problems of jobs and farm price stability will be closely watched by the voters.

The professionals are considering the cards and preparing to play the hand. The way two early decisions go will tell much about what the Democratic score is likely to be in two years' time. The two immediate questions:

1. Who will the Democratic National Committee select to replace Stephen Mitchell as chairman?

2. Shall the Democratic Congress fight for a program in 1955 on which the party can run in 1956? Or shall it merely stand by for the Republicans to make mistakes on which Democrats can run a second time.

The answers will show whether the Democratic Party as a whole is capable of putting country ahead of political advantage. Whether or not to influence these two decisions in every possible way is surely a vexing question to the present leader of the Democratic Party.

Adlai Stevenson is publicly pledged to the principle that the chief officer of a national party organization, during preparations for a national nominating convention, should be neutral as between the candidates for President. His appointee, Chairman Mitchell, has therefore announced that he will resign and ask the National Committee to choose a successor at its meeting on December 2. In his two years in national politics, Mr. Mitchell has learned a good deal about how to get along with the Southern wing of his party without simply giving in to it. And he has developed a considerable ability at influencing public opinion, as witness his part in the Dixon-Yates controversy. These two qualities could be valuable in the next two years in the competition for Southern loyalties as against the Dixiecrats, and in rousing Democratic voters to spur Congress to action.

Mr. Stevenson would be counselling the use of hard-won experience if he recommended that Mitchell be retained. By tradition the party head has been conceded whatever advantage comes from having his man as national party chairman. Certainly no question of dictatorship is involved in this case, for even Mitchell's worst enemies would not fear that he might rig the convention for Stevenson. And the choice of a "do-nothing chairman," which may result if Mitchell withdraws, would greatly reinforce the go-slow Southern wing in Congress.

Senate-Majority-Leader and House-Speaker-to-be, Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn, have properly announced their intention of arriving at the fullest measure of bipartisan agreement with the present Administration. But the conditions of the kind of national coalition the voters seemed to want on November 2 must be the subject of firm negotiation. And the area of independent Democratic action where agreement is lacking must be laid out definitely and in detail. Compromise and private agreement are the art of the legislative leader as well as the diplomat, and left alone to negotiate a *modus operandi* with the Eisenhower Administration, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Rayburn cannot be expected to produce an open covenant openly arrived at which can be enforced.

IT WOULD SEEM proper under the circumstances for Mr. Stevenson to lead the Democratic state governors and the full Democratic membership of the Congress in formulating a common statement of the party's aims for the 84th Congress, and the terms on which coalition with the Eisenhower Administration are acceptable.

Reasonably, the Democrats could insist on an end to political warfare of the Nixon brand and agreement by the President to respect the heritage of established Democratic programs now in government. Responsibly, the Democrats would want to pledge themselves to selective, not shotgun, investigations and to support proposals because they are right rather than Democratic.

Given a program on which they agree to try for results in the next two years and a party organization supporting the drive, the Democrats could advance to striking distance of the Presidency by 1956.

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EFFECTS OF THE ELECTION

Another "Do-Nothing" Congress?

by James MacGregor Burns

THE AMERICAN people face two years of murky, dreary and negative politics in Washington. This is the central fact that emerges from the elections. The voters gave no mandate to their leaders; they set no compass points for the direction of their affairs. Neither party got an endorsement as a party, nor did a national program win majority backing. Some Democrats triumphed as Eisenhower men, some as anti-Eisenhower men, some as independents who would go their own way. Some Republicans won on anti-McCarthy stands, others were conspicuously mute on the matter. As in all midterm Congressional elections, many of the contests turned on local issues, favors, interests.

Indeed, there was something for everyone in this curious election. Democrats are jubilant over their seizure of House and Senate. Republicans are claiming a better-than-average midterm break for their party. Liberal Democrats are pointing to the victories of Paul Douglas, Richard Neuberger, Joseph O'Mahoney, P. V. McNamara, James E. Murray, Theodore F. Green. Southern States' Righters are elated by the remarkable write-in victory of their old leader, J. Strom Thurmond, in South Carolina. Anti-McCarthyites talk of Case's apparent victory in New Jersey, the defeat of Joe's satellite, Charles Kersten, in Wisconsin, and the victories of anti-McCarthy Democrats. The Taft-wing of the Republican Party is making much of Ives' and Lodge's defeats, of Bender's and Dworshak's victories, and of the President's failure to pull in Republican candidates in states where he campaigned the hardest.

Everybody won the election, in short, except the American people. The confusion and obstruction that face them during the next two years will stem primarily, of course, from the kind of political system that the constitutional fathers bequeathed them. The system, with its staggered elections and checks and balances, is designed to do precisely what this midterm election will do—to cut and tangle up the expression of the majority will in elections, and to bleed it away in the operations of the national government.

Great political leadership in the past has usually managed to avoid the perils of our fragmented political system. Today we lack such leadership, especially in the White House. On the contrary, President Eisenhower has committed a series of colossal political blunders this Fall, culminating in his method of intervening in the election. In the long run his blunder may be far more serious even than Wilson's call for a Democratic Congress in 1918.

His blunder was not that he intervened. It was the manner and circumstances of his intervening. For two years he had relied again and again on Democratic support to put his Congressional program through. He had taken a lofty stand as President of all the people, as a leader above factions and parties. Then, in the short space of a few weeks, he became a partisan leader, asking the people to vote for Republicans—all Republicans.

If nothing succeeds like success, nothing fails like failure. Eisenhower failed. Perforce he must now deal in both houses with Democratic majorities and Democratic leaders whose party he allowed subordinates to charge with treason, whose members he denied any credit for the legislation he put through. Commenting on his campaign talk about the likely "cold war" if the Democrats won, he apologized after the election for the extremism of his campaign oratory. In his usual earnest, pleasant fashion, he offered the olive branch.

WILL THEY accept it? Undoubtedly they will on matters of state, especially foreign policy. But politics, as Mr. Dooley said, ain't a bean bag; it is a hard, mean serious profession. Huge stakes are involved in the relations between President and Congress during the next two years. And the Democratic leaders know it.

These men know, in brief, that every time they help him put through Congress a measure that is well received in the country, Mr. Eisenhower will claim credit for that measure on behalf of the Republican Party in the 1956 election battle. They will know this because the President has done this precise thing in the last few weeks. To make matters worse he has tried to filch the credit for his past program from Democrats who helped him put it through, and handed it over to Republicans who actually had tried to obstruct it in every way they knew how. Why, the Democratic leaders will ask, should they help Eisenhower put through a program that will be used by the GOP as campaign ammunition in 1956?

Mr. Eisenhower has shown impatience with what he has called "political clackety-clack." After listening to the clackety-clack of election machines last week, he may have thought of one of the cardinal rules of a profession more familiar to him, warfare. If a general commits

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himself in battle, it must be early enough and strongly enough so that he fights on ground and in circumstances of his own choosing. Eisenhower's colossal blunder has been that he defined victory as continued Republican control of Congress, that he committed himself deeply in the battle that followed, and that he failed under circumstances that jeopardize his chance for future victories.

What about the Democrats? Is it possible that they can organize their forces to bring about the orderly and constructive government that Eisenhower has jeopardized? Probably not.

The Democrats have gained their Congressional majorities on the basis of no program. They have won a series of separate victories on highly diverse programs. Despite the persuasive powers of the Rayburns and the Barkleys, the new majorities will be shot through with political rivalries and ideological differences. Congress lacks machinery, moreover, for building stable majorities to back up positive programs. Congress is most efficient and productive when a President marshals majorities from his own party behind programs carefully planned and co-ordinated in the executive establishment.

To make matters worse, the Democratic leaders in Congress will be divided among themselves. Conservative Democratic chairmen like Russell, Ellender, McClellan in the Senate and Howard Smith, Barden, and Walter of Pennsylvania, will have little in common with more liberal Democrats like Magnuson, Kilgore, Barkley in the Senate, and Spence, Celler and Crosser in the House. They will have less in common with rank-and-file members from urban areas reflecting concern over unemployment, bad housing, minimum wages.

THE SHADOW of 1956 will hang over coalition government during the next two years. In both parties maneuvers over Presidential politics will be reflected in the legislative pulling and hauling in Congress.

In the Republican Party in Congress the Taft wing and the McCarthy elements will jockey for national power. They will exact every ounce of advantage from what they call the repudiation of the Eisenhower men in 1954. They will fight the President's program from their commanding heights on the Right, and many an Eisenhower measure will be whipsawed between the Democrats and the extremist Republicans.

As for the Democrats in Congress, they will doubtless turn to the historic weapon of Congressional attack—the investigating committee. Representative Walter's post-election statement that he would favor the abolition of the committee he is slated to chair—the Un-American Activities committee—is a happy omen that the Democrats will scorn the evil tactics of some recent investigating committees. But it would be surprising indeed if the Democrats did not use their investigations for the stockpiling of campaign ammunition for 1956.

The Democrats' attempts to exploit their control of Congress may not succeed. Their victory in both Houses will be psychologically stimulating for the Democrats, but will also involve serious dangers. Such a victory may produce so much confusion and uncertainty in national politics that President Eisenhower, who has shown an extraordinary capacity to stay in a political ivory tower uncontaminated by the din and dust of political conflict, may emerge as the only national figure symbolizing the serenity, sense of unity, nonpartisanship, and impartiality that the people crave in times of crisis. Even worse for the Democrats, they may have to take responsibility for the actions of Congress during 1955 and 1956, and we have only to remember the way that Harry Truman used the "do-nothing" 80th Congress in 1948 as a butt to sense the possibilities in 1956.

WHETHER the Democrats become bogged in political ruts of their own making depends more on the leadership outside than inside Congress. This means Adlai E. Stevenson. He is at present the only Democratic leader of the national stature and popularity to weld the disorderly fragments of his own party into a posture of high purpose and creativeness. Harry Truman's and Averell Harriman's emphatic statements for Stevenson for 1956 the day after election have strengthened the position of the 1952 candidate. But lacking a strong base of power, Stevenson must depend largely on his eloquence and his wisdom. His way will not be easy.

One other imponderable in the political equation of 1955-56 will be the economic condition of the country. The bull market that swelled up unaccountably after the election may presage boom times—or just the opposite. If conditions markedly deteriorate, coalition government will be subject to a cruel test that it could not meet. The Democratic majorities could not act on their own; the President, caught in heavy political cross-fires from both parties, could not mobilize the political backing to put through a vigorous, sustained and comprehensive program. Each side would try to saddle the other with responsibility for bad times.

Inescapably the mind goes back to the Hoover parallel. The harassed President had worthy plans for dealing with the depression, but he lacked the capacity for political engineering. His ways of dealing with the Democrats ranged back and forth between denouncing the opposition for its obstructionist tactics, and remaining silent and inert in the face of chaotic conditions in Congress. Mr. Eisenhower commands more ability and experience than Mr. Hoover in the arts of coalition compromise, but the political winds would blow even more violently than in Hoover's day if only because of the great lesson the Republicans were administered in 1932.

Barring such grim developments, we are headed for a period of drift and uncertainty. It may be one of the ironies of our day that in a period when France is experimenting with stronger executive government, the US will be ruled by a legislature ridden by warring factions.

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EFFECTS OF THE ELECTION

"No Place To Hide"

by Wilfred Binkley

THE PRESIDENCY has evolved into a gigantic office almost beyond the comprehension of the most experienced public man. Even for the full-fledged statesman it is filled with surprises. Inevitably, it proves staggering to the political novice who begins learning the art of high politics on Inauguration Day. President Eisenhower has learned much in 18 months but there is much still to be learned.

Dwight D. Eisenhower was at the peak of his prestige in January, 1953. He was the first Republican candidate to win the Presidency in almost a quarter of a century. Had he then been expert in politics, had he possessed the aptitude of either of the Roosevelts, he might have been the leader if not the master of the Republican Party. But he relished no such role. His long vacation during the campaign indicated his distaste for politics.

But harried Republican candidates from all directions raised their Macedonian cries, even those whose records or known views entitled them to no aid of the President. Party leaders gradually convinced the President that he must get into the campaign. He had thought it beneath the dignity of his great office to stump for Congressional candidates. But the opinion polls, politicians in the field, traveling columnists, all testified to the continuing confidence of a large majority of the people in Eisenhower. This evidently made him the indispensable asset of a party to which only 34 percent of the voters now profess allegiance while 46 percent classify themselves as Democrats. Under these circumstances the President was not a free agent. He had to respond.

So the President, unwilling, was drawn in. And, when the campaign was over, he had set a record for midterm campaigning by a President. Republican candidates were shouting "I'm for Ike" in every direction. Never before had there been so much shoving for a place on the coat-tails of a President who was not then even a candidate. The upshot of it all was to make the Congressional election of 1954 a referendum on the Eisenhower Administration. Republican leaders may now deny this, but who can doubt that a Republican sweep would have been hailed as an endorsement of the Eisenhower Administration? In an unguarded moment, early this year, the President himself made it a referendum when he said that Congress would not deserve to be endorsed in the election unless it enacted a satisfactory program of legislation, *ie.*, his program. Here was an appeal to the country by the President. But now the outcome of what only a few days ago was declared to be one of the most critical elections in American history is blandly declared of no particular consequence.

No clever rationalization can now quite dispel the wide-spread impression that the Eisenhower Administration has failed to get a vote of confidence. No ingenious casuistry will convince the rest of the world that the Republican Administration has not received something more than a rap on the knuckles. Like Lee before Pickett's charge at Gettysburg, the President had to take a calculated risk by plunging into the campaign. He campaigned for a Republican Congress and got a Democratic Congress. Adlai Stevenson, on the other hand, completely identified himself with his party and the Democratic victory somewhat enhances his prestige, perhaps more than it reduces that of the President.

THE RESULT of last week's election is a reminder that the Administration has misread the voters' 1952 verdict. The voters had paid a generous tribute to a military hero without giving politics too much thought, but at the same time they elected an evenly balanced Senate and House and gave more than 200,000 fewer votes to Republican than Democratic Congressmen. This certainly was no mandate for a sudden about-face on well-established national policies such as TVA and public power. But sharp reversals were instituted, and they brought last week's inevitable electoral reaction. "Creeping socialism," as it is denominated, is the product of deep-seated forces in American society—not the consequences of diabolical conspiracies of wicked political leaders. The party of Lincoln needs to gauge more accurately the temper of the times, the aspirations of the common people whom Lincoln surmised God must have loved or would not have made so many of. The future of the Republican Party depends upon recovery, sooner or later, from the enormous handicap revealed by the opinion poll of October 23. To the question: "Which national political party—the Republican or Democratic—do you think is best for the people like yourself?"—51 percent replied Democratic and 27 percent Republican. Not even the symbolism of an engaging personality as President can permanently overcome that disadvantage.

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The President is reported to have refrained from campaigning at first under the impression that even with a Democratic Congress a bipartisan combination might still be depended on to enact his legislative program. It would be naïve indeed to accept at face value the specious Democratic campaign slogan, "The President needs a Democratic Congress." It was good Democratic strategy, during the 83rd Congress, to support many of President Eisenhower's proposals. It was even done with diabolical glee to the embarrassment of right-wing Republican Congressmen. But now the President must expect the Democratic majority to execute sharp tactical maneuvers, perchance to enact legislation for the record and present it for his signature in the expectation or even hope that he may veto it and do irreparable damage to the Republican Party in 1956. This is the way the game has always been played.

The Democratic leadership in Congress will be somewhat wary so long as the opinion polls indicate a high percentage of popularity for the President, but they can be counted on to extract the last ounce of party advantage out of the committee chairmanships and the speakership of wily old Sam Rayburn.

PRECEDENTS uniformly point to harassment of a President who gets an opposition Congress in a midterm election. The even-numbered Congresses are elected in midterm elections. The 20th Congress, elected in 1826, was the first one to confront an Administration—John Quincy Adams'—with a heavy opposition and it set the pattern by a two-year inquest into the conduct of the executive. The 26th Congress made President Van Buren's last two depression-burdened years miserable for him. The 30th Congress harassed President Polk in his prosecution of the Mexican War. President Pierce suffered the consequences of the explosive Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854, which split the Democratic Party, obliterated the Whig Party and initiated the Republican Party which consequently has just celebrated its centennial. The resulting 34th Congress countered Pierce on practically every Presidential policy. President Johnson's midterm Congress was so savage that it impeached and prosecuted him before the Senate and only failed to convict him by a single vote. The 44th Congress spent the last two years of Grant's Administration investigating what one historian called the "nadir of corruption." President Hayes' opposition Congress—the 46th—plunged at once into futile investigation of the 1876 disputed election of Hayes. President Benjamin Harrison spent his last two years dealing with a House of Representatives only slightly more than one fourth of whose members were of his party. The 54th Congress buried Cleveland under such a cloud of obloquy that his reputation did not recover for years. The 62nd Congress made the last years of President Taft's Administration a miserable anti-climax. The 66th Congress contributed to the physical collapse of President Wilson. Millions still remember President Hoover's frustrations with the 72nd Congress. Only President Truman, by a political legerdemain that still has the politicians baffled, converted a midterm opposition Congress into a campaign asset. Every other loss of a midterm election in American political history has been followed two years later by a victory of the opposition party in the next Presidential election. The omens are by no manner of means auspicious for a President whose party has just lost a midterm election.

THE QUESTION remains, "Will Eisenhower choose to run again in 1956?" He may think that choice is in his own hands. Rumor has it that he is contemplating retiring to his Gettysburg farm at the end of two more years. Time will disillusion him if he nurses any such illusion. When General Eisenhower consented to become a candidate in 1952 he gave an irretrievable hostage to fate—his own person and prestige. Barring some unforseeable cataclysmic change he can't say "No." The management of the Republican Party and the party itself have a vested interest in him and his continuing popularity. To a party so sadly in the minority in terms of professed members, "Ike" is the most valuable single asset of the party—in short he is absolutely indispensable as the candidate in 1956. If he were to take a stubborn stand and refuse to run he would be acting out of character. Ike isn't like that. He won't let his friends down. If he tries it, they will dissuade him as they have in so many other matters.

But there is another reason why he will have to run—the fact that there is no alternative just now, none in view at any rate, except the Vice President. Richard Nixon is young and on the make and may go far, but by 1956 he will still be an immature public man. By 1956 he will have less of an apprenticeship in administrative responsibilities than anyone elected to the Presidency in this century except Warren G. Harding. Truman, when elected, had already been President nearly four years.

Moreover the next candidate of the Republican Party must be one who keeps constantly in mind, as Eisenhower always does, the fact that the Republican Party is in the minority and that its candidate for President must be acceptable to many Democrats. A man who has stormed the country fretting Democrats, as Nixon has, with charges of Communist sympathy, can be no suitable Republican candidate. Here is the first Vice President of the United States to campaign vigorously and even belligerently. Democratic Senators are said to be irritated when not furious. Surely the party of Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt is not so near the bottom of the barrel for leaders as to have to turn to a youthful barnstormer whose most notable public performance thus far was when, as Arthur Krock put it in 1952, "a theatrical technique reminiscent of *East Lynne* enabled him to put on a performance that drenched the soil of the United States with tears."

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EFFECTS OF THE ELECTION

The Issues that Mattered

NEW YORK

IN ITALY, where they think about the sex of their nouns, a former statesman regularly warned his colleagues: *"L'urna é femmina ed é capricciosa"* (The ballot is feminine and is capricious). In New York State, this last Election Day, it was.

Democrat Averell Harriman was elected Governor over Republican Sen. Irving Ives, but first the ballot had to tease Harriman to death and even at this moment gives him no surcease. By midnight of Tuesday, Harriman was so far ahead that a majority of 250,000 to 300,000 was projected. After midnight, the tide turned. By morning, Harriman's lead had been cut to some 11,000 votes. The narrow margin gave Governor Dewey, the hottest partisan among the top political personages in the New York race, the opportunity to impound ballots and order a recount. So Harriman is Governor-Elect, provided those impounded voting machines don't suddenly get capricious.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. lost the race for Attorney General to Jacob K. Javits who rolled up a majority of 180,000. Both Roosevelt and Javits were New York Congressmen from adjoining districts in Manhattan's West Side. Both men have carried Liberal Party endorsement in previous Congressional races. Both men were found acceptable by Americans for Democratic Action in the present race. Javits' victory over Roosevelt was scored in New York City where Roosevelt ran about 8 percent behind Harriman and where Javits ran some 12 percent ahead of Ives. For many years there will be a debate as to whether some conservative elements in the Democratic Party cut down the young Roosevelt or whether some liberal elements in the city preferred Javits as an individual over FDR Jr. A close look seems to indicate that while both were a factor, the latter reason seems strongest since it is in the traditionally "liberal" assembly districts of New York that Javits picked up his biggest gains. In New York's 15th AD, Javits' very own area, Roosevelt ran 20 percent behind Harriman and Javits ran 50 percent ahead of Ives. In the 5th AD, an independent middle-income liberal area in FDR's Congressional District, Roosevelt ran about 10 percent behind and Javits ran about 33 percent ahead of their respective tickets.

In the race for controller in the state, two little known personages appeared on the ballot to record party strength stripped of personalities. The Democrats won.

Once more, the margin of victory for the Democratic candidate for Governor was supplied by the Liberal Party, which had some 275,000 votes cast on its line. The American Labor Party, polling less than its necessary 50,000 to stay on the ballot (the count was 45,000), disappears as an officially recognized party in the state.

In the Congressional contest, New York recorded only one change: in the district vacated by Jacob Javits a Democrat was elected to replace him. Otherwise, Democrats generally registered an increase in the size and percentage of their votes but nowhere were they able to displace a Republican.

In the election to the state legislature, the Democrats registered some gains in both houses but were unable to win majorities in either.

WHAT HAPPENED in New York may be a clue to what happened across the country where the Democrats scored a startling sweep of victories in the Gubernatorial elections while recording a more limited victory at the Congressional and Senatorial levels. Although complete state figures are not in at this writing, the complete New York City returns indicate a real pattern.

In 1952, Eisenhower got nearly 44 percent of the votes in New York City. Senator Ives this year got less than 33 percent. This indicates at the top of the ticket an 11-percent drop in Republican strength in the last two years. At the Congressional level, however, the Republicans lost only about 8 percent on an average. (In all except one district, where the GOP gain was only a tenth of one percent, the Republicans lost.)

What comes through is the fact that of the 11 percent of the voters who deserted the GOP to turn against Ives this year in New York City, there were some three percent who apparently heeded the President's plea for a GOP Congress.

In short, the Democratic trend expressed itself more strongly at the Gubernatorial level and in a modified form at the Congressional level.

The greatest switch away from the Republican Congressional candidates to Democratic Congressional candidates, took place in districts that are traditionally liberal and labor. So the considerable shift in the vote for Congress since 1952—some 8 percent toward the Democrats—is not expressed in the final election results since it resulted primarily in rolling up bigger majorities for Democrats. In New York's 17th Congressional District—gerrymandered to be Republican for eternity—Demo-

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crat Anthony Akers got 49.8 percent of the vote against Republican Coudert's 50.2. (In 1952 Coudert got 57 percent.)

Harriman's election ends 12 years of Republican rule in New York State. In the closing days of the campaign, many sensed a mood of desperation on the part of Dewey. In quick succession, the GOP campaigners, speaking through Dewey first and through Ives secondarily, accused Harriman of being "morally unfit" to run because he had voted in a Presidential preference primary in D. C., of having bribed judges, of having done business with Nazis, of being a union buster. No such attacks were made on FDR Jr., but it was Roosevelt—not Harriman—who lost the election. Some believe that public revulsion against the character of the GOP last-minute charges may be responsible for the defeat of Ives.

On the heels of the New York election, speculation began as to the future of the stellar performers. Dewey appeared to have reached the end of his political rope, unless the recount shows Ives a victor—in which case there is talk of Dewey being appointed to fill Ives' vacancy in the Senate. Harriman was questioned about the Presidency in 1956 and Harriman replied that he was, of course, for Stevenson. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. is momentarily eclipsed less by his defeat than by the fact that after being built up as the big vote-getter on the ticket he ended up trailing the ticket. Jacob K. Javits, an ADA Republican, ends up as the top vote-getter of the Republican Party in the state.

COLORADO

DEMOCRATS suffered a stunning upset when John Carroll lost the Senate race to Gordon Allott by about 12,000 votes. Newspaper polls both before and after the primary showed Carroll with a comfortable lead, though the margin was narrowing in October. Former Senator Ed Johnson's vote-getting name at the head of the state ticket was expected to help Carroll over any unforeseen difficulties. But although the voters elected Johnson, they decisively turned down Carroll.

The campaign had simmered along without major incident from the September primaries until the last week in October. Then every Colorado daily carried at least a quarter-page ad demanding, "Is This the Kind of a Senator Colorado Wants?" Carroll's votes when in the House against funds for the Un-American Activities Committee, the federal employee loyalty program, and the Communist registration bill were listed. Punch line: "Vote for a real American. Send Gordon Allott to the Senate . . . to drive out corruption and Communism."

Carroll called attention to the presence in Denver of Victor A. Johnston, director of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, who helped in the 1950 Tydings-Butler campaign in Maryland, Johnston acknowledged to newspapers that he had had "something to do with documenting the facts" of these ads. Copy is said to have been prepared by Eastern advertising agency writers imported by the Republican National Committee.

Then, by happy coincidence, Richard Nixon appeared in Denver to air his bow-tie McCarthyism on TV and radio. And a new series of ads was distributed by the State Republican Committee. The Republican *Denver Post* blasted the smear ads in a brilliant editorial, "Which Man Is Practicing 'Americanism'?" Such tactics, the *Post* prophesied, would and should cost the Republicans the election. The voters thought otherwise.

The net effect of the campaign is being argued in both camps. Some GOP leaders are quoted as feeling that the ads hurt rather than helped Allott. Democrats generally feel that the ads lowered the boom on Carroll and hurt the rest of their ticket too.

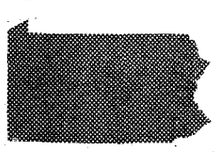
Several other factors are believed to have contributed to Carroll's defeat. To the usual Democratic inability to buy enough time and space to combat the well-heeled Republicans was added lack of strong state-wide party organization. Personal organizations, while devoted, can seldom be effective in a state that is big in area, small in population, and sectionally divided in sentiment. Carroll said proudly the night before election that he had requested no outside aid be given his campaign.

Some Democrats blame the defeat partly on the failure of Denver Mayor Quigg Newton to take an active part in the campaign after Carroll had defeated him in the primary.

GOP leadership apparently now will go to the younger, more progressive wing of the party. Allott, bitterly fought by the Taft wing before the primary, is now acknowledged leader. Although Representatives Rogers and Aspinall were returned by large majorities, most liberal Democrats anticipate that the future party organization will chiefly reflect the conservative influence of Ed Johnson.

PENNSYLVANIA

GEORGE MICHAEL LEADER, 36-year-old chicken farmer from York County, last week became the first Democrat in 20 years—and the second in 70—to be elected Governor of Pennsylvania. When the last votes were counted, the Eisenhower 1952 majority of 270,000 had become a Democratic plurality of 275,000; a Republican majority of 12 seats in the lower and 14 seats in the upper chamber of the State Legislature, had become a Democratic majority of 13 in the House and of one in the Senate,



and the composition of Pennsylvania's Congressional delegation had changed from 19 Republicans and 11 Democrats to 16 Republicans and 14 Democrats.

The Democrats carried the large cities by overwhelming majorities and the smaller industrial and mining areas by substantial margins. Traditional Republican

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pluralities in the rural counties were slashed. Philadelphia went Democratic by 112,000 and Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) by 87,000. In Lancaster County, lushest of the Pennsylvania Dutch farming areas, the Republican plurality shrank from 36,000 in 1952 to 11,000 this year.

There are 360,000 people unemployed in Pennsylvania, and many more are working only three or four days a week. One of the state's basic industries—coal mining—is having its worst crisis in a century. A specific example of how unemployment affected voting was offered by the Fourth Congressional District, in Philadelphia. The district is predominantly Negro—a group hit hard by unemployment—and its voters long have wanted a Negro Representative. This year the Republicans offered one. But he was defeated by the incumbent, Earl Chudoff, a Democrat with a liberal voting record.

Three of the last four Republican Governors—Arthur James, Edward Martin and John S. Fine—mismanaged the state's affairs so thoroughly that Fine's Lieutenant Governor, Lloyd Wood—the Republican candidate this year—was unable to say whether the state's deficit for the current biennium would be $200 or $300 million. Last year Fine forced a sales tax of one percent through the legislature. All this made the battle cry "We need a change" as attractive state-wide as it had been when the Democrats swept Philadelphia three years ago.

George Leader turned out to be an almost perfect choice. A contemporary of Robert Meyner, George Muskie and Mennen Williams; tall, lanky, warmhearted and articulate, a successful farmer, Democratic County Chairman for seven years and State Senator for four, he had equally strong support from Pittsburgh's hardbitten regular Mayor Lawrence as from Philadelphia's independent reform-Mayor Clark.

ILLINOIS

EVEN PROMINENT Chicago Democrats whispered that pedantic Paul Douglas might be in real trouble this time. Without any patronage to dispense, either state or federal, Douglas toured Illinois in a battered station wagon on a nickels-and-dimes budget. The operation looked like an amateur sideshow compared to that of his hand-shaking opponent—Joseph T. Meek, self-styled "Man from Main Street."

Meek, a spellbinder in generalities, had the support of the state-wide political machine so well oiled by the young Republican who succeeded Adlai Stevenson as Illinois' Governor. William (Billy the Kid) Stratton, Governor, was one of the powers behind Meek, who is a lobbyist for 50,000 big and small retail firms.

Douglas had the editorial support of only one Chicago newspaper, Marshall Field's *Sun-Times*. Colonel McCormick's *Tribune*, Hearst's *American* and John S. Knight's *Daily News* came out for Meek.

"I'm more for Ike than Joe" was the main theme of the Douglas campaign. At first, Meek didn't pay much attention to this claim, but, in the final weeks, he got worried. So, deciding to climb on the Eisenhower bandwagon, he argued that he would support the President more often than the professor. The refrain was: "Whatever Paul can do, I can do better." And besides, he suggested, Douglas was a socialist.

Someone sold the White House the idea that it would pay to do business with Meek and his anti-Eisenhower Republican friends. And the President came to Springfield to bolster Meek's campaign. He even sent the GOP hopeful a "Dear Joe" wire on election eve—it proved worthless.

Douglas' sweeping victory, by a margin of 250,000 votes was not an accident. He knew that to win, he needed the usually Republican downstate area. Chicago, he reasoned, would go Democratic as usual. More than a year ago, Douglas began flying in from Washington on week-ends to tour the 88 downstate counties which were plagued by unemployment, falling farm prices, drought and rural electrification needs.

Recalls the white-haired economist: "I made speeches in shopping centers, at factory gates, courthouse squares —wherever I could muster a crowd."

Douglas' strategy cut into the large downstate majority Meek had hoped to win and use to overcome a Democratic lead in Cook County. At the rostrum, Douglas was the champion. Meek didn't seem to know much on many major issues, especially foreign affairs.

Republican Governor Stratton made three campaign mistakes: (1) he backed Meek; (2) he mimicked Walter Reuther's criticism of Defense Secretary Charles Wilson and thus got White House intimates mad, and (3) he tried to "smear" a University of Chicago sociologist running for sheriff as a Democrat in Cook County—who won by 350,000 votes over Stratton's hand-picked candidate.

OREGON

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY may have suffered little more than severe contusions in the Congressional elections as a whole, but in Oregon, normally as Republican-bound as Maine, its wounds are deep.

Here Democrats elected their first US Senator since 1914 and their first US Representative since 1940. More, the traditional minority party more than doubled its 11-member delegation in the 60-member State House of Representatives, and increased its strength from four to six in the 30-member State Senate.

Democratic gains can safely be attributed to (1) the effectiveness of the party's campaign against the Eisenhower Administration's "partnership" plan for power development and (2) the newly disclosed political po-

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tency of organized labor in the Portland metropolitan area.

At the top of the Democratic ticket, Senatorial candidate Richard L. Neuberger set the pattern for the campaign that denounced the Republican withdrawal from the support of a federal dam project in Hell's Canyon and listed "partnership" among the natural resource "give-aways." Neuberger's skin-thin margin of victory over Old Guard Republican Sen. Guy Cordon came from Portland precincts and from Northeastern Oregon counties overlooking Hell's Canyon.

Democratic Gubernatorial candidate Joseph K. Carson, a johnny-come-lately in federal power advocacy, lost by a wide margin to GOP Governor Paul Patterson.

The second major Democratic triumph in Oregon, that of Mrs. Edith Green, Portland housewife, in the 3rd Congressional District (Portland), came in an area that had been covered thoroughly for the first time by organized labor's precinct workers.

Neuberger, who already has a national reputation as an author, is not destined to languish in the shadow of his colleague, and supporter, Senator Wayne L. Morse. The editors of the *Portland Oregonian,* who firmly opposed Neuberger in the campaign, paid him this compliment in the wake of the election: "He is one of the most intelligent men we ever have known." Then they added: ". . . on the other hand, he is one of the most ambitious and self-centered."

The nation's capital will soon have opportunity to make its own judgment of Neuberger's talents and—a bit later—of those of his wife and political partner. Mrs. Neuberger won re-election to the Oregon State House of Representatives in the general election, leading the Multnomah County ticket of 32 candidates and outstripping her husband in that, his strongest, district. She will give up her lawmaking career at the end of the 1955 legislative session to be with her husband in Washington. They are a formidable team.

OHIO

OHIO'S VOTERS stuck pretty close to the middle of the road.

Leather-lunged Congressman George Bender of Cleveland, who tried to nominate Robert A. Taft for President at Chicago in 1952, picked off his hero's old Senate seat by a scant 9,500 votes out of 2,500,000.

Governor Frank Lausche, only Democrat to win state office, was elected to an unprecedented fifth term by a whopping majority of 212,000.

Robert A. Taft Jr.'s maiden venture into politics was a huge success. Beginning where his father began, as a candidate for the General Assembly, he led the GOP legislative ticket in Hamilton County.

Although Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) voters gave Senator Burke an edge of 135,000 votes, that wasn't nearly enough to overcome the Ohio farmer's predilection for Republicans which, added to a Hamilton County (Cincinnati) margin of 35,000, was what nailed things down for Mr. Bender.

Why did Burke lose? Some say it was because he announced that he would vote to censure McCarthy. Some say it was the light vote. Others believe the dramatic discovery of a stick of dynamite in Bender's car on the Saturday night before election roused anger among the voters, made him a martyr in the nick of time. Bender, who has been looking into labor-racketeering charges quickly announced that the attempted dynamiting was a stupid thing for "those racketeers" to do.

This much seems clear. The returns do not suggest that voters were much impressed with Democratic talk about unemployment and farm conditions, that they may have felt there is a semblance of peace in the world and that Ike might deserve credit for it.

NEW JERSEY

THOUGH the Case-Howell result is still in some doubt, the fact that stands out most plainly in New Jersey is the political impotence of the extreme right-wing of the Republican Party.

The right-wingers, led by such Herbert Hoover Republicans as James P. Selvage and by such labor haters as Fred Hartley, were highly vocal. They bombarded the state with vicious anti-Case literature. They got an assist on radio from Fulton Lewis Jr., who repeatedly denounced Case. They got another assist from Joe McCarthy who said he favored every Republican in the nation except Case. But when the votes were counted it was plain that their efforts to capture Republican leadership by the defeat of Case and to drag the party back to the gaslight era of Benjamin Harrison and William McKinley were completely futile.

Another important lesson is that the indirect attack on Case by identifying his sister as a left-winger was a failure, indicating that guilt by association has not displaced old American principles in the minds of New Jersey voters.

Case was opposed by an able, honorable and liberal man in Charles R. Howell and by a strong Democratic organization which had won a smashing victory in the gubernatorial race in 1952, and these facts make Case's big vote, whether he narrowly wins or loses, all the more impressive.

All this seems to mean, at least so far as New Jersey is concerned, that a new Republican Party is in the making. The state has shed some of its conservatism and its nineteenth century type adoration of rugged individualism, and by borrowing New Deal-Fair Deal ideas has moved from the right to the center in the political spectrum.

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What the Party Shifts Will Mean in the

NEW HOUSE CHAIRMEN

RULES: (The most powerful committee of the House, it decides the order in which bills are considered and sets conditions of debate.) Howard W. Smith (Va.) will replace Leo E. Allen (Ill.) as chairman. Smith, a bitter opponent of Roosevelt-Truman policies, opposed continuation of the excess-profits tax on corporations during the last session; he has called public housing "evil."

APPROPRIATIONS: (This committee can cripple existing government programs or negate bills requiring government expenditures.) Clarence Cannon (Mo.) replaces John "The Axe" Taber (N.Y.). As chairman before, Cannon has generally been less close-fisted than Taber. And on the kinds of bills affected by the decisions of this committee, Cannon has a better record of Eisenhower support than Taber.

WAYS AND MEANS: (Tax bills and tariffs.) Jere Cooper (Tenn.) will replace Daniel A. Reed (N.Y.) Cooper, unlike Reed, has supported reciprocal trade agreements; during the last session he fought to increase individual income-tax exemptions.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: James P. Richards (S.C.) replaces Robert P. Chiperfield (Ill.). Richards generally supported Truman's foreign policy; Chiperfield has a deep-rooted dislike of "foreign entanglements," and only passively supported Eisenhower.

ARMED SERVICES: Carl Vinson (Ga.) replaces Dewey Short (Mo.). Vinson, perennial chairman in Democratic Congresses, is on record as favoring a big Navy, a big Air Force, and a Universal Military Training Law. Short still is basically the isolationist he was when he voted against the draft in 1941 and again in '46, '48 and '51.

BANKING AND CURRENCY: (Housing, controls, fiscal policy.) Brent Spence (Ky.) replaces Jesse P. Wolcott (Mich.). Spence supports public housing, whereas Wolcott long has been a spokesman for the real estate lobby—during the last session he almost succeeded in killing the whole public housing program. Again, the new chairman's Eisenhower-support record on the sort of legislation his committee will handle is better.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE: J. Percy Priest (Tenn.) replaces Charles A. Wolverton (N.J.). Priest fought to limit the authority of the Atomic Energy Committee to make contracts of the Dixon-Yates type, while Wolverton favors such arrangements.

JUDICIARY: ("Anti-Red," Immigration, Monopoly and Voting laws.) Emanuel Celler (N.Y.) replaces Chauncey W. Reed (Ill.). Celler, an ardent anti-monopolist, has supported civil rights measures, fought for admission of displaced persons, against the "tidelands give-away," and is opposed to giving the vote to 18-year-olds.

AGRICULTURE: Harold D. Cooley (N.C.) replaces Clifford R. Hope (Kans.). Both men oppose the Administration's "flexible" farm-price supports program.

JOINT HOUSE-SENATE COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY: Senator Clinton P. Anderson (N.M.) replaces Representative W. Sterling Cole (N.Y.). Anderson is suspicious of the Dixon-Yates contract, which Cole supports, and will investigate the Administration's entire atomic energy program. Where Cole has championed the viewpoint of private industry in such matters as atomic energy patents, the prohibition of the government atomic power plants, etc., Anderson will concentrate on the danger of allowing an atomic power monopoly to develop through patent abuses and favoritism, and generally will use the committee as a watchdog.

JOINT HOUSE-SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC REPORT: Senator John J. Sparkman (Ala.) replaces Rep. Jesse P. Wolcott (Mich.). In two years of Republican control, this committee has fallen into disuse in much the same way as Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers—both were set up by the Republican-opposed Employment Act of 1946 and were designed to play a key role in ensuring an expanding economy. Sparkman intends to see to it that the committee functions, checking the Administration's policies and claims in such areas as employment, defense-spending and public works, and calling public attention to anything in that program it considers designed to benefit big business only.

Priest Spence Cooper Smith Vinson Cannon

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Major House and Senate Committees

NEW SENATE CHAIRMEN

APPROPRIATIONS: Carl Hayden (Ariz.) replaces Styles Bridges (N.H.). Hayden, a Senator since 1927, is less concerned with "economizing," Bridges' slogan, than with providing for effective foreign aid and defense programs. He opposes the Administration's "partnership" power policy, preferring a public power approach, and he will back the Democratic leadership's proposed "gigantic development program" for national resources as a means of bolstering the economy.

FINANCE: (Tax Bills and Tariffs) Harry Flood Byrd (Va.) replaces Eugene D. Millikin (Colo.). A Senator since 1933, Byrd shares Millikin's desire for economy and for reduction in the size of government. He has, however, opposed the Administration's request for a raise in the national debt limit and will probably demand a more liberal reciprocal trade program than the President has so far settled for.

FOREIGN RELATIONS: Walter F. George (Ga.) replaces Alexander Wiley (Wis.). George, a Senator since 1922, agrees with the Administration's foreign policy goals, but he will look over specific proposals with a far more critical eye than Wiley did. On the other hand, his championship on the floor of programs he approves will be more influential than Wiley's. George has favored cuts in Foreign Aid and Point Four; he seems to favor some kind of Constitutional Amendment limiting the President's treaty-making powers.

ARMED SERVICES: Richard B. Russell (Ga.) replaces Leverett Saltonstall (Mass.). Russell, a Senator since 1933, has served on this committee for many years and knows how and where military budgets are padded. Administration measures looking to a more effective military establishment will receive his support—which will be more dynamic than Saltonstall's—but he has no liking for the GOP "economy-first" approach to defense.

BANKING AND CURRENCY: J. W. Fulbright (Ark.) replaces Homer E. Capehart (Ind.). Fulbright, unlike Capehart, supports public housing and opposes the Administration's basically "hard-money" approach to fiscal policy. In the Federal Housing Administration hearings, begun by Capehart, Fulbright will be concerned more with making improvements in the program than with digging for political dirt.

INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE: Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.) replaces John W. Bricker (Ohio.). Magnuson, a strong public power advocate, will reverse the efforts of Bricker, a spokesman for natural gas interests, to weaken the authority of federal regulatory agencies such as the Federal Power Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS: James E. Murray (Mont.) replaces Guy Cordon (Oreg.). Murray will fight the Administration's "partnership" power policy and support the Democratic "gigantic development program"; Cordon, one of the prime-movers of the "tidelands give-away," has been one of the private utilities' most ardent champions.

JUDICIARY: Harley M. Kilgore (W. Va.) replaces William Langer (N.D.). Kilgore agrees with Langer that the Committee should concentrate on investigating monopolies—with special attention for private utility combines—and the accelerating merger trend which has developed in big business under the Republican Administration. Kilgore also will work to break down the restrictions placed on immigration by the late Pat McCarran, last Democratic chairman of the committee.

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS: John L. McClellan (Ark.) replaces Joseph McCarthy (Wis.). McClellan probably will demand that the Administration furnish precise details on its "security-firings" claims.

AGRICULTURE: Allen J. Ellender (La.) replaces George D. Aiken (Vt.). Ellender is determined to replace the Administration's "flexible" price-support program—favored by Aiken—with the old "rigid" system.

LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE: Lister Hill (Ala.) replaces Alexander Smith (N.J.). A Senator since 1938, Hill is determined on a more drastic revision of the Taft-Hartley Act than that proposed by the Administration, and supported by Smith, last session. In the past, Hill has championed federal aid to education while Smith has remained ambiguous on the question.

Magnuson Fulbright Hill Murray Anderson Russell

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GERALD W. JOHNSON

★

The Superficial Aspect

JUDGING by its superficial aspects, the results of the election of November 2 indicate the following:

1. All the political soothsayers are quacks. Almost unanimously they predicted a Democratic trend, but there wasn't any Democratic trend. Neither was there a Republican trend. There wasn't any trend, and the election was decided on fortuitous local issues.

2. Averell Harriman hasn't got what it takes. If he could barely scrape through as against Ives, he wouldn't have the chance of the traditional celluloid cat in hell as against Eisenhower.

3. South Carolina remains a slave state. It is as subservient now to Massa Jeems Byrnes as it used to be to Massa Coley Blease, and before him to Massa Ben Tillman, and before him to Massa Wade Hampton.

4. The 10 million independent voters who elected Ike in 1952 don't believe that voting for the Republican Party is voting for Ike, so they didn't vote at all.

5. The name of Roosevelt is now just about as effective as "abracadabra-kalamazam" in working political magic.

6. The 33 million who really like Ike and the 27 million who really like Stevenson have practically no ruthers as between Jenner and Lyndon Johnson, or Brownell and Harry Byrd. They don't like any of them.

7. All of which sums up to the conclusion that while the American voter is willing to follow a leader, he is sick and tired of idolizing false-faces and shivering before pasteboard dragons. The election of 1954 offered him no real leader on either side, so the result was inconclusive, except that it destroyed the myth of moral superiority that the Republicans have been building up.

Probably it is also true that the Republicans have recklessly expended their best asset for nothing. In the final days of the campaign they sacrificed Ike's position as a man above cheap and nasty politics. It may have staved off a crushing defeat, but it did not save control of Congress, and all they have left now is a man who is as bitter a partisan as Dewey or Landon ever was. After this year's campaign, the Democrats will no longer be inhibited by fear of Eisenhower's reputation as a patriot first and a Republican later, if at all. He is now just a straight Republican, like any other, and open to the same kind of attack.

This was, however, consistent with the blundering Republican strategy from the beginning. Eisenhower won the election of 1952, and really smart politics would have acknowledged the fact by making every effort to align the party with the winning factor, instead of bending the winning factor into alignment with the party. But there were too many arrogant men in the Republican Party who would not acknowledge any leader. So they have thrown away their most valuable political resource.

Stevenson, on the other hand, has probably gained somewhat. In the closing days of the campaign he demonstrated ability as a rough-and-tumble fighter. It is a role not to his taste, and some had begun to doubt that he could play it under any circumstances. But when Nixon and finally Eisenhower demonstrated that they wanted to play rough, Adlai showed that he hasn't lived in Chicago for nothing. If biting and gouging are called for, why he is willing and able to accommodate.

His real gain, though, is less his own accomplishment than the indifferent showing made by his putative challengers. Paul Douglas, backed by Stevenson, went through Illinois like Hurricane Carol through New England. Harriman squeezed through in New York, but lost some running-mates; so did Lausche in Ohio. That leaves only Mennen Williams, of Michigan, as a real threat to Stevenson's dominant position in the party.

POLITICIANS have an understandable preference for a candidate with broad and buoyant coat-tails, for a great many of them have no hope except to ride in. Stevenson's coat-tails have the appearance of being a mile long and a mile wide; although he lost in 1952 there is no doubt whatever that his campaign greatly assisted innumerable Democratic Congressional candidates. It is highly doubtful that he carried Douglas through, but it is probable that he helped pile up his majority, and he is the only top-flight Democratic leader whose man won overwhelmingly.

As of today, therefore, he is in a better position than he occupied before the election, and he is just about the only man in either party who has materially bettered his position. For the rest, it was pretty much like atomic warfare in which everybody loses.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Significant Sears, Remarkable Roebuck

by Ridgely Cummings

Now come the chill mornings of autumn, the long nights of winter; and now also comes the new Sears, Roebuck fall and winter catalog.

The book weighs three and three-quarter pounds on my bathroom scale. It has the approximate dimensions of the Los Angeles yellow classified telephone directory and contains 201 more pages than *Gone With the Wind.* Its circulation probably exceeds that of *The Caine Mutiny,* which made publishing history by topping the best-seller lists for two years, although the West Coast manager for Sears declined to reveal distribution figures. His reluctance to discuss circulation was based on the presumption that such figures were rightfully a trade secret whose publication would give aid and comfort to the enemy, er, that is to say, the competition.

When Tybalt was run through in his duel with Romeo, he answered a friend inquiring about his wound by remarking that it was not so deep as a well nor as wide as a barn door. But, he added, it would suffice. The same is true of the catalog. It is not so gaudy as a circus nor as thick as a prison wall. But it will serve as an index to life in these United States until something better comes along. In its pages are reflected the preoccupations of our culture and the goals of our civilization.

A GENERATION or so ago when agriculture involved fewer machines and more people, the arrival of the mail-order catalog was a big event, an opportunity to look sharply into the mysterious ways of city dwellers, a chance to check on the new boons that mass production was making available to the folk on the farms. Women at church socials exchanged excited comments on the latest things in sunbonnets and new styles in high buttoned shoes, while the husbands stood around in serious groups discussing the advisability of ordering waterproof paint for the barn and about that fancy, efficient new type of manure spreader.

Times have changed and the catalog has changed with them, even to adopting modernized spelling and lower case type on the cover. But a leisurely glance through this issue's 1,398 pages reveals that the change has not been as complete as we city dwellers are apt to think. Despite ever-increasing urbanization, there is evidence that many potential mail-order customers still live in localities where there is no electricity, no gas, no public water supply or sewage system and few of the conveniences of urban and suburban life that we take for granted.

For these rural residents there are chemical toilets at $22.95; hand pumps for wells up to 100 feet deep at $18.50; windmill force pumps for wells to 200 feet at $22; gasoline driven pumps at $115.95; and carbide lamps that burn four hours on one filling at $2.69.

ONE of the circumstances that contributed to making me catalog-conscious was an anecdote told me by a literary friend. This youth may some day be a famous writer but at the moment he is supported by a brace of maiden aunts while he cuts his authorial teeth. He was telling me about his Aunt Agatha who lives in Inverness. During the summer Inverness is an artist colony and vacation resort but when the winter fog rolls in it is just another partially deserted hamlet on the Pacific coast north of San Francisco. His Aunt Agatha decided that what she needed for the cool weather was an old-time Franklin stove with removable front, the kind she remembered from her childhood. She scoured the Bay Area for one of these pot-bellied heaters that burn wood, coal and trash. After exhausting the logical sources, such as department stores, she began haunting antique shops and auction sales of family heirlooms. She had no luck and cold winds were blowing off the Inverness inlet before someone told her about the Sears catalog. There on page 973 was a picture of a Franklin stove, brand new and guaranteed in working condition, available at $42.95.

The mail-order catalog tries to anticipate the needs of the Aunt Agatha's and those living in relative isolation, but I would be placing a false emphasis on the contents if I stopped here. The catalog-makers are struggling desperately to keep pace with the modern trend toward gadgets. There was scant mention of windmills in the current issue, though not so long ago this gaunt, pipe-legged structure used to decorate the covers. By contrast there were three pages devoted to television sets, ranging from $139.95 for the 17-inch model to $319.95 for the de luxe 21-inch console. There were two pages depicting television supplies and another page for TV tubes, put them in yourself, restore your set to its original brightness, $19.95 to $41.95 for the various sizes.

Sears is strong for do-it-yourself work around the house. The book abounds in pictures of hearty men installing their own plumbing and dainty women cutting and placing colored tiles on the wall. But the company is scrupulous about warning its customers against violating the law. For example, there is a full page of unvented gas heaters, ranging in prices from $3.89 to $44.95. The descriptive matter under the photographs points out that unvented models need no stovepipe and are easy to install. Then on a facing page, taking cognizance that every winter there is a rash of deaths from asphyxiation resulting from the use of unvented gas heaters in rooms closed against the cold, the catalog cautiously adds. "In some areas local ordinances forbid their use. If this is the case in your community, order a vented heater."

THE COVER of this year's catalog emphasizes thrift and the family, with a soupçon of English literature thrown in. Above a smiling little girl and her doll, both busy putting a coin in a toy bank, there is this quotation from William Makepeace Thackeray: "Those who save a little shall get a plenty more."

The inside front cover plugs the Sears "easy payment plan." In line with modern sales methods, everything in the catalog is available on credit. Elsewhere in the book this credit plan is explained. Basic features seem to be a ten percent down payment on goods ordered and a carrying charge of approxi-

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mately ten percent. Thus if the unpaid balance comes to $37 the carrying charge is $4, for $96 it is $10 and for $201 it is $20. When the unpaid balance gets up to $300 the carrying charge is $26.50, somewhat less than 10 percent, while for credit in excess of $300 the customer is asked to write for terms. On the second cover an editorial states that this plan is "fair and reasonable" and remarks with a trace of irritation, "it's a fable that low monthly payments always cost you very little. Sometimes padded carrying charges on 'discount' goods add considerably to your final cost." The entire question of discount houses seems to be a sore point. The catalog says, "Anyone can give you discounts from high 'list prices.' But it's what you get for what you finally pay that counts. Not what you are told you save."

Facing this editorial page is a display of home appliances. Then comes a few pages listing store locations and we are into the book. Clothes for little girls is the lead-off. Not until page 18 does a little boy make his appearance among the illustrations, and then he is surrounded by girls. This pattern seems to prevail throughout: it is girls to boys and women to men about ten to one, just another indication of which sex does the consuming and holds the purse strings in America.

After children's clothes comes baby furniture, including a combination baby tub and diaper pail at $11.50. There are auto seats for travelling tots at $5.39 and a play pen at $19.95. And from play pens it is a logical step to toys, which occupy ten pages, ranging from educational playthings to develop the youngster's hidden talents to western-styled twin pistol sets for young gun-toters, designed to develop hidden talents not described.

The transition from toy guns to cowboy boots for women and children is a simple one. And from boots to shoes for dad and the children is just another step. The catalog makers were wise to the vagaries of women however and apparently realized that the housewife is more apt to order shoes by mail for her family than for herself. Not until three hundred pages later do women's shoes make their appearance. And then the emphasis is on bedroom slippers, "cosy chill-chasers," galoshes and boots, as if the advertising chief knew that mom likes to go into town when she wants shoes and listen to the man tell her what dainty feet she has as she tries on about half the models in the store.

Our national preoccupation with health and youthful appearance is reflected in quotes like the following: "Waistline increasing? Is posture a problem? You may need a support. You look better when you look slimmer." This is followed by illustrations of girdles for men, elastic supports and suspensories. There are page after page of syringes, trusses, braces and hot water bottles. In fact the catalog contains just about every real or imaginary need from toenail scissors (surgical steel blades, $2.50) to the kitchen sink ($15.95 for the single basin steel type with chrome-plated swing spout mixing faucet and $147.50 for the cabinet sink with twin basins and drainboards, white enamel finish).

Like all self-respecting businessmen whose pocketbooks are in the right place, the executives of significant Sears and remarkable Roebuck are interested primarily in showing a profit, at the same time making a devotional bow to that shibboleth of the Rotary Clubs known as "service." But in their current catalog they have wrought more wisely than they suspected. They have composed a work which, should it chance to be buried in a time capsule for the edification of future historians, would elicit more huzzas from the social scientists of another age than the collected papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Mr. Hemingway & His Critics

by Mark Schorer

"It must have made him laugh," says Charles Fenton in the final paragraph of his book, *The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway*, where he tells how the Toronto *Star*, which drove Hemingway from Toronto as it finally did from journalism itself, likes to refer to him as "a former Torontonian." When news of the Nobel award came to him last week, and at last, it must have made him laugh again. Of the four American writers who have preceded him in this honor, he has since 1927 shown himself to be a bigger writer than three of them and certainly no less than the peer of the fourth, William Faulkner. In 1922 he published *The Sun Also Rises*, which, from an historical point of view, may yet prove to be the most remarkable of American novels, and this award could have come to him with perfect justice in any year since that date. It is of course not at all surprising that the judges of the Swedish Academy should have withheld their recognition until they could point to a work so blameless before conventional judgment as *The Old Man and the Sea*, and yet, as that enormous bank draft is being prepared, one cannot close one's ears to the lovely irony that echoes in Hemingway's revelation of last week that he published this novel, which is only part of a larger and unfinished work, because he needed money.

The Art of Ernest Hemingway, by John Atkins (Roy; $4.50).
The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway, by Charles A. Fenton (Farrar, Straus, and Young; $5).

More than one academy has now recognized him, and this second—American scholarship — should make him laugh, too. His famous contempt for critics and for professors of literature is impotent in the grip of their embrace. In the past two years, no less than four books on Hemingway have been published. Three of these are by teachers of English, and the fourth, hardly less remarkably, is by an Englishman. Carlos Baker, who is the chairman of the Department of English in Princeton University, made an extended and level-headed analysis of Hemingway's aesthetic achievement in *Hemingway: The Writer as Artist*. Philip Young, an assistant professor of English in Kansas State College, developed a highly stimulating psycho-biographical thesis in his *Ernest Hemingway*, and went far in placing Hemingway's work in the tradition of the American novel. The more recent are *The Art of Ernest Hemingway* by John Atkins, the Englishman, and the study of Hemingway's formative years by Charles A. Fenton, who is an English instructor at Yale. The fourth

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book is perhaps the most remarkable of all, for it was, in the first place, a doctoral dissertation, and in the second, almost certainly the only doctoral dissertation ever to have been serialized in *The Atlantic*. This set of circumstances speaks well not only for young Mr. Fenton, but for the editors of *The Atlantic* and the English professors at New Haven.

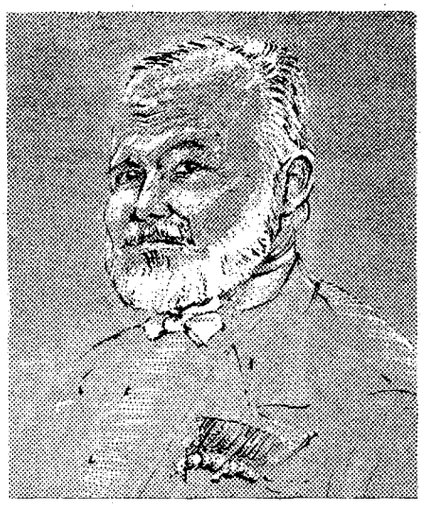
Mr. Atkins' book seems to me to be a routine critical performance. It is loosely organized, informally written, and without the kind of analytical precision that characterized Carlos Baker's book. Mr. Atkins is much more interested in Hemingway's attitudes as attitudes than he is in their definition and embodiment in aesthetic forms. The attitudes that he examines are the familiar ones: toward war and fear, women and sex, the sporting "code," etc., and the only surprise that the book contains is "Appendix B," which he called "Hemingway on the English." Mr. Atkins' general conclusion that "Hemingway gets considerable satisfaction out of a war situation" led him to include an "Appendix C" by "an American writer, Bernard Raymund," who is apparently a friend of the author's and believes that "Hemingway actively dislikes war." I cite all this only to illustrate a kind of solemnity that Hemingway's work is beginning to engender and that he must be the first to find not a little embarrassing, although he is hardly responsible if, in some quarters, his work is being packed in cotton batting.

MR. FENTON'S solemnity is of another order and strikes me as completely admirable. To submit Hemingway's early years to the full array of the paraphernalia that makes a doctoral dissertation acceptable is to take two risks: the result might well seem like a satire of the subject, or it might equally well seem to be a parody of a dissertation. *The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway* is neither, and this is because Mr. Fenton writes a perfectly simple, perfectly clear and forthright prose without pretentiousness of any sort, and always highly informative. The result not only outlines for us, step by step, the development of the young Hemingway up to the publication of his first books, *Three Stories & Ten Poems* and *in our time,* but it tells us a good deal in a more general sense about the growth of the artistic temperament and about the actual forging of a craft.

Mr. Fenton begins with a sketch of Oak Park, Illinois, and of the cultural and domestic milieu in which the adolescent boy found that he had his beginnings. Scrupulous as a sociologist in the field, he interviewed and corresponded with classmates, friends, teachers, and he read the high school publications to which Hemingway made his first contributions. He follows the seventeen year old to the *Kansas City Star* with its famous style sheet ("Avoid the use of adjectives," ran Rule 21, "especially such extravagant ones as *splendid, gorgeous, grand, magnificent,* etc.") and tracks down his news stories where he was first being trained "in narrative as much as in reportage." After Kansas City comes the period of the ambulance service in Italy, contributions to the newspaper, *Ciao*, put out by Hemingway's Red Cross section, and his exploitation there of the Ring Lardner vein that had first attracted him in high school. More important, perhaps, is the alteration of Hemingway's youthful idealism about the war (like the development of his feeling about the United States) into his more mature and familiar view, and the part of the famous wound in this alteration.

BACK TO Horton Bay in Michigan, and then to Toronto and the *Star Weekly,* where all "Hemingway's gifts for narrative and for ironic impressionism were encouraged." In Chicago next, where Hemingway was employed on the house organ of a swindler and where he met Sherwood Anderson. Then Europe—Paris (and, of course, Gertrude Stein—and one should add that Mr. Fenton adjudicates tidily this complex of conflicting claims and interests), Asia Minor, Lausanne, the Ruhr—and at last back to Toronto again. Mr. Fenton's achievement lies in his clear analysis of double influences—external: those of personal relationship — and internal: those of the writing that Hemingway was in fact doing. He leaves him at twenty-four, his first small book published, and the author in complete possession of that marvelous gift with which, 30 years ago, he broke, like morning, upon the attention of the world.

This is a very impressive account of the most difficult kind of evolution that one can trace. One cannot simply say, "here he learned this—the short sentence," and "there he learned that—



Hemingway

repetition," for the growth of a literary style is no more mechanical than the growth of the man who possesses it. Mr. Fenton's sensitivity to the delicate operation that he is performing is keen, and while his own style is of a downright sort, his procedure and his insights are subtle. One cannot reproduce in a review the process that required his book. A sample may suffice:

> Of all the tangible professional profits that came to Hemingway through his apprenticeship in newspaper work, this knowledgeability and its sardonic derivation of wit were the most immediately apparent. His style matured to a degree in the discipline of cabelese; after his association with Gertrude Stein he began to introduce the harsh, declarative structure of his mature prose into his feature material. On the whole, however, his newspaper rhetoric could seldom be more economical than was appropriate to a reporter who was usually paid by the word. The interludes of buoyant humor and ironic wit were basic to his success as a correspondent; he exercised them constantly. In the months immediately after his abandonment of newspaper work, in fact, Hemingway was inclined to think of himself at least in part as a humorist.

Through this sort of analysis, with very fine documentation, Mr. Fenton develops his full definition of that remarkable prose that, like a smith, Hemingway hammered out of the materials of his life. *Il migliore fabbro!*

Mr. Fenton does perhaps a greater service than I have yet indicated, and that is, by implication, the drawing of a portrait of Hemingway, the man, that will do much to wipe out the distortions

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that malice and Hemingway's own news-worthiness have developed into a fable. Anyone as fantastically glamorous as Hemingway is almost certain to be victimized by himself, and for the past ten years, this process has been boringly snow-balling. Mr. Fenton's portrait of the young Hemingway—absolutely dedicated in his artistic aims, conscientious in his work, responsible to his employers as to his friends, humorous, without self-importance or pretense, even rather self-effacing—all of this will do much, one can believe, to reverse the unhappy trend. This younger Hemingway must live still in the older one, for if we indubitably have with us the "Papa" of the newspapers and Harry's Bar in Venice (and which of us would invite inspection of our private lives?), we have, even more certainly, the great spirit that achieved *The Old Man and the Sea.*

When, in 1923, William Butler Yeats received the Nobel Prize, Hemingway was doing his last stint for the Toronto *Star,* and under unpropitious circumstances that in a lesser man and a smaller mind would have soured generosity and blunted perception. But Hemingway wrote as follows—and Hemingway, let us remind ourselves, chose not to bother with the whole business of Oak Park High and never saw the inside of those college classrooms where we, the old and young alike, admire him and talk as though he were something that belongs to us—Hemingway wrote:

> William Butler Yeats has written, with the exception of a few poems by Ezra Pound, the very finest poetry of our time. This is a statement that will be instantly challenged by the admirers of Alfred Noyes, John Masefield, Bliss Carman, and Robert Service. Let them read what they like. There is little use in attempting to convert a lover of coca-cola to vintage champagne.

One is tempted, of course, to translate this tribute, to change the medium and the proper names, and give it back to Hemingway. But surely there is no exception to be made to the statement—and no reader who would wish to challenge it—that Ernest Hemingway has written the very finest prose of our time. And most of it is poetry.

Miss Glasgow's Private World

by Leon Edel

THE MEMOIRS of Ellen Glasgow, set down in the years preceding her death in 1945 and then locked away, have now been given to us by her executors. The decision is a wise one. The executors have understood that after the death of a writer certain reticences need no longer be observed; time itself erases and softens and alters hard facts; more than this, that the human document, particularly when it reflects experience intensely lived and felt, can be capable of possessing that life "beyond life" of which Milton spoke. So, in these memoirs, the voice of Miss Glasgow speaks to us in its own cadences and inflections, not from the grave but beyond it from the very life it once had, and demonstrates anew (if demonstration were needed) Proust's claim that the literary art can preserve the quality of a mind long after that mind has ceased forever to function.

The Woman Within, by Ellen Glasgow (Harcourt, Brace; $5).

There have been in American literature two distinctive types of autobiography: one is the chatty, anecdotal, reminiscential record of persons and places, a kind of pleasant stroll through the outer circumstances of the life being recorded; the second, much less common and much more searching, has carefully appraised the personal past for the inner, the subjective life: how the personality came to be. At the summit of this type of autobiography we might place Henry Adams' inquiry into the fullest meaning of himself as a microcosm at a given time in the eternity of man. And beside it belongs Henry James' search for the growth of his imagination. Miss Glasgow's volume is of course more modest than these other major works, but it is written in their tradition and is illuminated by the same ideal of "intellectual and emotional veracity." The emphasis, thus, is essentially psychological and self-exploratory. Miss Glasgow had an acute sense of her role as an artist; she was curious enough to want to understand her own growth, and she had the courage to face her inner self at a time when most persons prefer to avert their eyes and allow the past to be forgotten.

AND SO she began to write, at first hesitatingly, of matters her earlier Victorian self would never have thought of laying bare to public gaze; and then, as she advanced, she found greater freedom and was able to carry to completion the not always agreeable task she had imposed upon herself. It is necessary for the reader of this book (in an age which tends increasingly to forget the meaning of "the private life"), to remind himself what kind of inner heroism was required for Miss Glasgow to strip away the vestiges of old shams into which she was born, and to overcome the "insidious sentimental tradition" of the South. The process that began with her novels themselves, the artist's record that she wrote in her reminiscential prefaces (later collected as *A Certain Measure*) finds its completion in these significant memoirs.

It is an axiom of psychology that no person can see wholly into himself since there will always be some corner that one's inner self will refuse to turn, some little fact that the transcendent ego will refuse to face. Ellen Glasgow, with her unfailing artist's insight, has gone doubtless as far as it was possible to go without touching too roughly certain of her own exposed nerves. At any rate the interested outsider discovers sufficient evidence to gain *his* insight into how this Virginian, fettered by a family past and the past of the South, frail and suffering from partial deafness, was able nevertheless by the slow honest process of being curious, questioning, resolute, to cut the fetters and make herself free. Out of clear-sightedness and compassion, and the novelist's weapons of irony and satire, she turned her back on the magnolia-and-julep South to take her place in the vanguard of the new Southern writing.

A sickly girl, in a family of ten children, presided over by an almost classicly Calvinist father, who had within him we gather a vein of iron (indeed he managed the local iron works)—a family addicted to the outworn codes, the Richmond provincialisms, whose life

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Two Poems

Critic

A short-order cook is the mealymouthed critic,
In his chromium kitchen long has he rambled;
Attacks an egg with a little egg-beater
And serves it shirred, or blurred, or scrambled.

Lady Biographer

She devotes her life to the lives of others,
Sees the poor mad poets as they were;
And how they'd have been if they'd had nice mothers,
Or if they all had married her.

WILLIAM JAY SMITH

was broken by nervous break-downs, much illness, early deaths—these constituted the now-familiar, the almost cliché Southern background, of the future novelist. The helpless little girl, in such a setting, fears the father, worships the mother; and her imagination is peopled by nightmare shapes, a compound of fear and frustration, and also the rage that frustration engenders.

With morbid sensitivity she identifies herself with the weak, the insulted, the injured, the man taken to the almshouse, the dog whipped by the unfeeling boy. She feels acutely the world of violence and of suffering. And out of this helplessness and rage comes the will to endure and triumph; the sympathy with suffering gives her compassion for all things, the rage will be converted into civilized satire and irony; and the search to find a groundwork of reality will lead her to be the young rebel who can accept neither religious dogma nor rigid social conformities.

THE young Ellen Glasgow steeped herself from her earliest days in imaginative literature and she went in for "heavy" reading when she could have been a Southern belle: Darwin and Nietzsche, Henry George and John Stuart Mill and perhaps appropriately for a member of so large a family, Malthus. As she brushed away the cobwebs that surrounded her, she precociously began to write her novels; and in the next three decades wrote a body of work that rendered the Virginia scene and its history. There was an almost Balzacian or Zolaesque design to her fiction, and if she did not create a Rougon-Macquart she at least gave her work an analagous unity. She "escaped from the elegiac tone that surrounded [her]," she said, and she adds: "I revolted from sentimentality, less because it was false than because it was cruel. An evasive idealism made people insensitive; it made people blind to what happened." This is finely perceptive and it tells us much about Miss Glasgow.

In the earlier part of the volume one finds perhaps a certain self-pity, for it was hard for the old lady looking upon herself as a little girl not to be sorry for the child. But when she comes to analyze the two significant love affairs of her life there is neither self-absorption nor self-pity. The ironist takes over. Miss Glasgow's childish experience of men did not endear her to the idea of marriage. But in her life she was able to free herself of spinsterish fetters. The first man she loved deeply, and his early death ended a period of profound happiness. The second lover was a cultivated and distinguished gentleman, standing high in his country's service, whose life was dedicated to the process of becoming and remaining a "success." He brought undoubted charm and vitality and a handsome "front" into Miss Glasgow's quiet drawing-room, but also all the inner hollowness of his worship of the bitch-goddess. When the first world war became for him not a humanitarian task but another ladder in his upward climb, Miss Glasgow experienced disenchantment. "The worst thing about war," she noted cutting through to the heart of truth, "is that so many people enjoy it." She might have added that in a big sprawling mechanized civilization like ours, war provides relief from the drab life of peace led by so many persons, to whom the great drama of international death and destruction becomes and remains the sole adventure of their dreary lives. The pages devoted to Harold S. are written in Miss Glasgow's finest vein of irony even when its quality becomes charged and at moments feline.

The weakest portion of the memoirs is to be found in the chapters devoted to formal reminiscence, encounters with the Edwardian and Georgian novelists in England, the friendship with James Branch Cabell and literary parties in New York—the usual small anecdotage and superficial observation of such autobiography. Miss Glasgow is at her splendid best when she is looking quietly into the mirror of herself, as she was, and as she became. Then the book is alive with the human anguish and pity of love that was hers. She allowed herself to feel and through feeling came to understand; she has given us a document to be read and cherished.

THEATRE

THE AIM of a writer who set out to imitate *War and Peace* might be described as Trying to Get Everything In. The aim of a writer who set out to imitate *Phèdre* or *Ghosts* might be described as Trying to leave Everything Out. The paradox of art is that Tolstoy does not include anything he does not need,

The Dybbuk, by S. Ansky, translated by Henry Alsberg (4th Street Theatre).

neither do Racine and Ibsen exclude anything they do need; his maximum is also a minimum, their minimum is also a maximum.

How does a dramatist's minimum become a maximum? Leaving nearly everything out, the dramatist necessarily gives to the few things he puts in a peculiar prominence. In bad drama, this is only the prominence of isolation, insulation, sheer unconnectedness. The diagnostic of good drama is that the little it actually displays suggests, like the visible part of an iceberg, larger bulk beneath. A play may have a very large subject but can only present a few small clues to it. Nothing in a play is more than a clue. Dramatic dialogue is a form of shorthand, and dramatic characterization a form (if the word can be stretched a little) of caricature. Behind the few things the characters say, the few things they do, and the few things they are, we sense the reality of many things—indeed, in great plays, the whole of a civilization.

If this much is accepted, a whole

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theory of the drama unfolds which would justify the "absurdity" of Molière's plots and the "unreality" of Shakespeare's characters. Contrariwise, the "reality" of our modern characters and the non-absurdity of modern plots (or non-plots) stand condemned as a failure to meet the rudimentary requirements of dramatic art. Season after season the dramatic critic has to complain that the serious plays are mere tape-recordings of actual conversations, mechanically taken photographs of actual persons, particularly "little" persons (children, morons, cripples, old maids, *et al*). If all art stands at a remove from life, if, indeed, the artist's "art" is precisely his way of setting life at a remove, of bringing it into relief, the drama may be, in some ways, a crude or an extreme case, but it is in no way an exceptional one.

All this *à propos* of *The Dybbuk*, currently on stage at the Fourth Street Theatre, which strikes me as a very happy example of a modern playwright's having found the clues to a big subject.

Obviously, our lesser playwrights are not dully naturalistic from conviction or sheer wilfulness, only from not knowing any better, from not finding a workable alternative. "A dramatic poet," writes Ramon Fernandez, "must base his creations upon creations which are collective and anonymous." The converse of this principle is that dramatic poetry cannot exist if the right collective and anonymous creations are unavailable—cannot exist, either, if the poet is such an individualist that he refuses to use such collective and anonymous creations as are available.

Where, today, can the poet find such creations? T. S. Eliot has thought to find them in the Anglican church—and also in the Broadway-West End drawing-room conventions. He has had his troubles. Writing *The Dybbuk* in the Russia of a generation ago, Ansky was not so hard put to it—though one might, on the other hand, remark that what he did has been done only once, at least with such signal success. In short, he used certain existing cultural patterns which did not have to be "made dramatic" but which were of themselves theatrical, and this not only in their liveliness, but also in their significance. Great art, we know, is universal, but, before it is universal, it has to be thoroughly local, it has to bear the signature of a people and a faith. The point has been proved by an artist rather close in all respects to Ansky—namely, Chagall. Sholom Aleichem I should judge to be less close, for, unless the English translation has misled me, Ansky's achievement is visual and aural, that is, theatrical, rather than literary. Great theatrical work being far rarer than great writing as such, *The Dybbuk* is the more welcome on this account.

Such work labors under the handicap that it can only be communicated in great performance, whereas great literature is available as soon as you pick up the book. It is not within the means of an Off Broadway group to create great spectacular theatre of the sort Stark Young described when reviewing *The Dybbuk* in these pages nearly 30 years ago. Yet the production on Fourth Street is not so opaque that the light of Ansky's genius does not come blazing through. There is a relaxed air about the performance, a lack of fuss and high pressure, that you would never find *on* Broadway; only once or twice did I find myself wishing they'd get a move on. More important, Broadway is, of its very nature, irreligious; religion there is a self-proclaimed phony, the merest neon-lit religiosity, asking the angels not to give all they have to feed the poor, and reversing that unhappy *gaffe* about the needle's eye. I've no idea if Ansky was theologically minded, and am sure there are experts to tell me that *The Dybbuk* is not at all a pious play, nevertheless there is something in it that is religious in a broader, and perhaps deeper, sense. Ansky makes real to us people whose religious tradition is perhaps the main thing in their lives and, like Chagall, he seems to tell you that you can be happy in the universe even if you are miserable in this world. There is a fine Dickensian mixture in this Chassidism of mysticism and jollity.

The American adaptor of the play, Henry Alsberg, maintains that it is a study of split personality. Perhaps one has to talk in these terms to impress a certain type of modern person, but it would be wiser not to, as, in fact, the heroine's character is left undefined. If the dybbuk symbolizes a second soul within her breast, one would have to ask: what is the nature of the first soul? a question Ansky doesn't answer. The only "modern" character in the play—and he is also a classic character—is a young man who is at once spiritual and sensual to the highest possible degree: a conception of endless dramatic possibility. Otherwise, you have to judge this play from a viewpoint not psychological but either religious or esthetic. One might say, more simply, that you have to be child before it, for it is above all a story. It differs from other good stories chiefly in releasing its power in theatrical images, even in what, given another context, could be cheap theatrical effects. The biggest moment is when another voice speaks out of the heroine—the voice of the dybbuk.

I do not know if Ansky shows us "the way to do it." But undoubtedly he shows us the way it can—or once could—be done.

P.S. Rachel Armour, who plays Leah, has the loveliest face to be seen in any New York theatre. Jacob expected Rachel and got Leah; the Fourth Street audience expects Leah and gets Rachel.

ERIC BENTLEY

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Notes on the Critics

RIDGELY CUMMINGS is a Hollywood author and columnist. MARK SCHORER is the author of a new novel, *The Wars of Love*. LEON EDEL is completing his biography of Henry James.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT's new book, *Trial by Television*, based on articles which first appeared in this magazine, has just been published by the Beacon Press.

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CORRESPONDENCE

► The Charges Against Lattimore

SIRS:

In the Washington Wire in your November 1 issue, a justified criticism of the position of the Department of Justice in the Lattimore case is regrettably weakened by a material overstatement, namely that "Lattimore was indicted on the ground that he was a Communist sympathizer" and re-indicted on the ground that he "followed the Communist line." The facts are, of course, that both indictments were for perjury by Lattimore, consisting of various alleged misstatements, including one that he had not in his writings shown himself to be a Communist sympathizer or followed the Communist line. This distinction is a fundamental one and not a mere legal technicality. Whether the principal count in the new indictment should be dismissed as was that in the first indictment is, of course, an entirely different question, which I do not attempt to go into.

EUSTACE SELIGMAN

New York City

► Truth in One Dimension

SIRS:

It is not my intention to come to the defense of Ferdinand Lundberg, but I do want to register my protest against that order of sleazy argumentation, represented in Mr. Leslie A. Fiedler's review of *The Treason of the People* (*NR*, October 25). It is full of double talk and Aesopian parlance.

The prize insinuation is that unbelievable affirmation that Communism "is not a polar anti-democracy," but rather "a somewhat [sic] unfortunate extension" of democracy. By that token, murder is merely a somewhat unfortunate extension of love.

This version of Communism must be taken as the signature of Fiedler's social, cultural, and literary view point. Once that is understood, everything else falls in line. Though he hates to be, he *is* churlish in criticizing Lundberg for not including in his work—whether that be relevant or not—an indictment of McCarthy.

He rages at Lundberg for "making a case," and for employing all "the standard devices of persuasion," and phrases it so as to make either or both degrading, if not criminal. He indulges in such phrases as "one is made uneasy by specific falsifications of emphasis." These are sham indictments, calculated to delude suckers. What is "a specific falsification of an emphasis"? Who is to judge where the right emphasis shold fall? And how can an emphasis be falsified? Such verbiage does not even make sense. Another superb instance of double talk is represented in the phrase "confusion concealing rhetoric."

I am sure that Mr. Fiedler has something of a protest to make, and could argue his case with effectiveness, since, after all, no author can treat all sides of any question in any given work. But the order of thinking and writing exemplified in this review prompts one to distrust, and indeed to have something of a contempt for such "liberal defenders of the truth."

DR. IAGO GALDSTON

New York City

► Ford Madox Ford

I am at present engaged in preparing a study of the literary career of Ford Madox (Hueffer) Ford (1873-1939) and would appreciate it very much if anyone possessing letters or other material concerning his life and work would communicate with me.

FRANK MACSHANE

60 Crofut St.
Pittsfield, Mass.

The New Republic welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less lend themselves to publication more readily than longer letters.

BANDWAGON

WHAT makes a McCarthyite?

In many cases the explanation is relatively simple, like baseball fans choosing up sides in the World Series.

But in the case of Mrs. Esther Hamilton Dunlap of Taconic Rd., Greenwich (Conn.), for instance, the conversion is more complex.

"I woke up to the fact that I was being brain-washed by *The Christian Science Monitor*," she said.

"What the Monitor's purpose was in doing this I still don't know, but maybe McCarthy will reveal it next month," she said.

Mrs. Dunlap continued, "All the so-called best writers of *The Monitor* are Rhodes Scholars and that seems to mean something. What's a Rhodes Scholar? I don't know.

"Somebody once told me a Rhodes Scholar is a perfectly good American boy who is sent to Oxford and gets brainwashed into a one-world, international robot with all feeling for his own country scraped out of him.

"I don't know. I never went to Oxford."—*Bridgeport (Conn.) Herald*, October 17, 1954.

NEW JERSEY tavern owners vowed yesterday to notify the Government if a customer engages "in any subversive activities" while hoisting a few thirst-quenchers at the bar.

"There remain many enemies in our midst," said a resolution adopted at the annual convention of the United Licensed Beverage Association of New Jersey.

The resolution did not describe the type of subversive activity that mighth occur in New Jersey taverns.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 16, 1954.

YOU can teach your dog to "say his prayers" with the help of the simple instructions to be presented on Sunday by *Tribune* outdoors editor Bob Becker. He will outline three easy steps used by a famous trainer of war dogs and show dogs in teaching this trick.—*Chicago Tribune*, October 22, 1954.

CENTRAL BOULEVARD Woman's Club has asked the children of the neighborhood to take their crime comic books to NW 97th Street and Seventh Avenue to be burned on Tuesday, 4 p.m.

The children will be served ice cream and will be given new comic books to replace the ones bein gburned. Mrs. Ellis M. Blanton, youth welfare chairman, will be in charge.—*Miami Daily News*, October 25, 1954.

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MAGAZINE

A GRAMMAR OF VIOLENCE—lead article on the Semantics of the literature of violence in the current issue of ETC., official journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms limit thought, behavior. $4 year; trial issue $1. Write Dept. 22, 400 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

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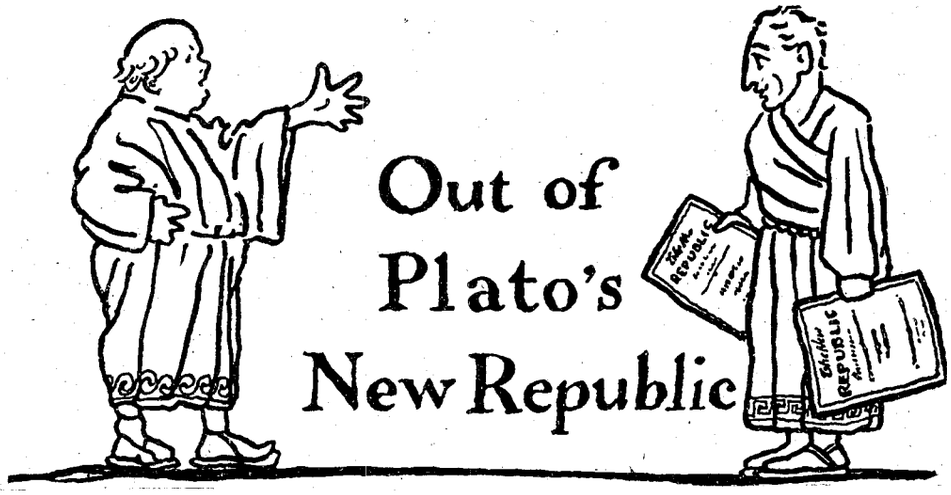

Out of Plato's New Republic

Cease to invite my ear, O Socrates, with talk of this magazine or that. When I become rich I shall have all the magazines.

And if you never do?

I shall have the *New Republic,* anyway.

I perceive in you, Good Glauco, another faithful subscriber.

On the contrary, you do wrong to address me as a subscriber, Socrates, since, as I have already told you, I am not rich. I am of those who buy the *New Republic,* truly, but do not subscribe.

Now, indeed, you astonish me, Glauco, and also I think you will never be rich. For tell me, is it not easier to remove a smaller sum from the purse at one time than a larger sum during fifty-two times?

I will say it is easier.

And is not seven dollars less than ten dollars and forty cents at all times?

Of a truth yes, certainly. Extremely so, indeed.

Having said this, I will cease; for it is plain, excellent Glauco, that you do not wish to progress toward riches.

One moment, Socrates. Do you say that if a man subscribes to this *New Republic,* he shall not only not be poorer but shall be richer than he now is?

I say so.

By the Gods, you say right!
Summon me a messenger forthwith that I may send seven dollars for fifty-two weeks of this riches!

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